

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 INR-10
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DISAM WP AFB OHIO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 MBABANE 2507

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MASS MPOL BC
SUBJECT: SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR BOTSWANA: REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

REF: A) STATE 175080 (NOTAL) B) STATE 168320 C) STATE 167901
D) GABORONE 2120 (NOTAL) E) 77 GABORONE 1927 F) 77 MASERU 1126
G) 77 GABORONE 1304 H) GABORONE 1296 I) 77 GABORONE 1290

NOTE: FOLLOWING DRAFTED BY CHARGE ALBERTI, REVIEWED
AND CONCURRED IN BY ME.
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1. SUMMARY: BOTSWANA'S SECURITY SITUATION, ITS
ECONOMIC IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT PLAN AND USG
INTEREST IN PROVIDING FMS CREDITS FOR MODEST
MILITARY SUPPLY PROGRAM TO BOTSWANA HAVE
BEEN EXAMINED IN CONSIDERABLE DEPTH, INTER
ALIA IN OUR OUTGOING REFTELS. OUR RESPONSE TO

REPORTING REQUIREMENTS IN REF C WILL THEREFORE AT TIMES BE REPETITIOUS; BUT WE SHALL WHERE POSSIBLE AVOID EXCESSIVE REDUNDANCY BY SUMMARIZING AND REFERRING TO PREVIOUS REPORTING. WE HEREIN PROPOSE FOR FY 1980 A SMALL PROGRAM AT "CURRENT LEVEL" OF US\$4.5 MILLION IN FMS CREDITS, AND US\$300,000 IN IMET TRAINING. THIS PROGRAM WOULD BE DEVOTED TO PROVISION OF NON-LETHAL EQUIPMENT, SUCH AS RATIONS, LIGHT TRANSPORT VEHICLES, RADIOS, TRAINING AIDS AND RIOT CONTROL DEVICES. IMET TRAINING AT THIS LEVEL WOULD BE MEANINGFUL, EXPOSING BDF OFFICERS AND NONCOMS TO MODERN INFANTRY ORGANIZATION AND TACTICS. WE BELIEVE A SUBSTANTIAL BUT MODEST PROGRAM OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO BOTSWANA IS IMPORTANT AT THIS CRITICAL TIME, TO PROVIDE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT TO GOB AND TO MEET US INTERESTS IN PRESERVING SOVEREIGNTY AND STABILITY OF THIS COUNTRY WHICH IS AN ISLAND OF DEMOCRACY AND NON-RACIALISM IN THE INCREASINGLY TRUBULENT SEAS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

2. USG INTERESTS. A MODEST PROGRAM OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO GOB WOULD: (A) DEMONSTRATE

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STRATE USG PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC, NON-RACIAL REGIME WHICH RESPECTS HUMAN RIGHTS; (B) HELP TO PREEMPT GOB'S TURNING TO BLOC SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE THEREBY DISCOURAGING FURTHER EXTERNAL INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA; (C) BE TANGIBLE EVIDENCE THAT USG VALUES BOTSWANA AS A MODERATE FRONT LINE STATE; (D) ASSIST GOB IN DENYING HER TERRITORY FOR OPERATIONAL USE BY ZIMBABWE (OR EVENTUALLY SOUTH AFRICAN) LIBERATION MOVEMENTS,) THUS HELPING CONTAIN THE SPREAD OF THE RHODESIAN WAR; AND (C) IN GENERAL ENHANCE OUR RELATIONS WITH BOTSWANA.

3. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES. TO HELP EQUIP THE SMALL (2000 MAN) BOTSWANA DEFENSE FORCE (BDF) TO IMPLEMENT THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE GRAY REPORT (REF E), SO THAT THE BDF CAN FULFILL ITS MISSION IN PROVIDING BORDER SECURITY AND MODEST DEFENSIVE CAPABILITY VIS-A-VIS UNFRIENDLY MINORITY REGIME, NATIONALIST GUERRILLA ELEMENTS OR FREE LANCE

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.

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4. THE THREAT. FIRST, HOT PURSUIT,
PUNITIVE OR PREEMPTIVE STRIKES INTO BOTSWANA
BY RHODESIAN FORCES, DIRECTED AT FLEEING
GUERRILLAS, REFUGEE CENTERS, BATSWANA
CIVILIANS OR AT THE BDF ITSELF. SECOND,
HOSTILE OR UNCONTROLLABLE ZIMBABWE NATIONALIST
GUERRILLA ELEMENTS SEEKING TO USE BOTSWANA
AS SUPPLY OR OPERATIONAL BASE, OR SIMPLY
LOOTING AND DEFYING LAW AND ORDER IN BOTSWANA.
THRID, THE THREAT OF SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION
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MOVEMENTS WHICH ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY MILITANT IN THIS DETERMINATION TO CARRY THE ARMED STRUGGLE TO THE RSA. BOTSWANA CANNOT HOPE EFFECTIVELY TO DEFEND HERSELF AGAINST RHODESIAN REGULAR FORCES; WHAT SHE CAN DO IS RUN BDF PATROLS ALONG THE BORDER TO DISCOURAGE SMALL HOSTILE UNITS, INTERCEPT GUERRILLA INFILTRATION AND, IN THE EVENT OF A STRIKE IN FORCE, BUY TIME IN WHICH TO MOBILIZE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. ITS OBJECTIVES VIS-A-VIS SOUTH AFRICA ARE TO CONTROL ITS OWN TERRITORY TO DEPRIVE THE SAG OF GROUNDS FOR RETALIATION. THE BDF ALSO PROVIDES SECURITY FOR REFUGEE CAMPS (PRESNETLY CONTAINING SOME 12,000 REFUGEES, HALF OF THEM WOMEN AND CHILDREN) AND OTHER POSSIBLE REFUGEE TARGETS.

5. IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT THE BDF IS NOT ORGANIZED TO COUNTER AN INTERNATIONAL THREAT; BDF LEADERHSIP IS TOTALLY COMMITTED TO DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW.

6. OUR PERCEPTION OF THREAT. ACCORDS WITH THAT GIVEN ABOVE.

7. MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. SOME 2000 BDF PERSONNEL OVERALL, ARE ORGANIZED INTO FIVE "INDEPENDENT COMPANY GROUPS" OF FOUR RIFLE PLATOONS EACH, PLUS NECESSARY SUPPLY, MEDICAL, AIR, ARMORED CAR, SIGNAL AND TRAINING SUPPORT. (SEE GRAY REPORT; AVAILABLE IN DEPARTMENT.)
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8. ASSESSMENT OF ABOVE FORCE. WE AGREE WITH DISINTERESTED PROFESSIONALS THAT THE PLANNED ORGANIZATION, BASED ON A DETAILED SURVEY BY UK TEAM, IS ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE TO BOTSWANA'S SITUATION AND CAPABILITIES; AS SUCH, IT ACCORDS WELL WITH US INTERESTS.

9. ECONOMIC IMPACT OF DEFENSE. IF SECURITY EXPENDITURES ARE TAKEN AS A WHOLE (I.E., SECURITY, DEFENSE AND REFUGEES), THE ANNUAL OUTLAY FOR GOB IS ESTIMATED AT ABOUT US\$15 MILLION AT CURRENT PRICES. THIS IS

PROBABLY ON THE LOW SIDE, SINCE THE NUMBERS
OF REFUGEES HAVE INCREASED RECENTLY FROM SOME
4,000 TO OVER 12,000 AND STILL CLIMBING. OF
THIS ANNUAL FIGURE, OVER US\$10 MILLION WILL BE
ON THE BDF, BOTH CAPITAL AND RECURRENT COSTS.
TAKING THE (CONSERVATIVE) US\$10 MILLION
FIGURE, IT WILL BE APPROXIMATELY SIX PERCENT
(AT 1976 PRICES) OF THE TOTAL ESTIMATED GOB
BUDGET FOR 1980 (RECURRENT AND DEVELOPMENT);
TWO PERCENT OF GDP; AND ABOUT 2.5 PERCENT OF
TOTAL ESTIMATED 1980 IMPORTS. THERE IS NO
REASON TO ANTICIPATE THAT DEFENSE EXPENDITURES
WILL CREATE FOREIGN EXCHANGE OR DEBT SERVICING
PROBLEMS. THE \$9 MILLION US PROGRAM GRANT TO
BOTSWANA SIGNED JUNE 26, 1978, WILL HELP TO
ASSURE THAT CURRENT EXPENDITURES ARE COVERED.

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10. SPECIFIC ARTICLES AND SERVICES AND ASSESSMENT OF THEIR ECONOMIC IMPACT. THESE DATA, AS SPECIFIED IN REF C, WILL BE PROVIDED BEGINNING IN MAY 1979 (OR EARLIER, IF THEY WOULD BE REQUIRED BY DEPARTMENT, AND AS THEY BECOME AVAILABLE TO EMBASSY).

11. ARMS CONTROL IMPACT. NEITHER THE PROPOSED EQUIPMENT NOR THE TRAINING WOULD HAVE ANY APPRECIABLE IMPACT ON ARMS CONTROL ISSUES. NO
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NEW CAPABILITIES WOULD BE INTRODUCED INTO SOUTHERN AFRICA. ON THE CONTRARY, A VIRTUALLY DEFENSELESS NATION WOULD BE AIDED IN UPGRADING ITS MEAGER MILITARY CAPABILITY IN THE FACE OF THE OVERWHELMINGLY SUPERIOR FORCES OF ITS NEIGHBORS.

12. HUMAN RIGHTS. BOTSWANA IS A NON-RACIAL PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY. IT HAS THE BEST HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD OF ANY AFRICAN COUNTRY, AND ONE OF THE BEST WORLDWIDE. THE BDF AND POLICE HAVE NOT BEEN USED TO DENY HUMAN OR CIVIL RIGHTS TO BATSWANA, AND BDF COMMANDERS HAVE REPEATEDLY ASSURED US, WITH UNQUESTIONED SINCERITY, THAT THEY WILL NEVER BE SO USED. A PROGRAM OF MORE AND BETTER EQUIPMENT AND TRAINING FOR THE BDF CAN ONLY HAVE THE EFFECT OF INCREASING THAT UNIT'S SELF-CONFIDENCE, PROFESSIONALISM AND DISCIPLINE, WITH ATTENDANT POSITIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN BOTSWANA.

13. THIRD COUNTRY ASSISTANCE. BOTSWANA'S NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (NDP) IS ASSISTED BY SOME US\$45 MILLION PER YEAR FROM A VARIETY OF DONORS, PRINCIPALLY THE UK, US, SWEDEN, FRG, NORWAY, THE EDF AND LIBYA. THE BDF HAS RECEIVED A SMALL AMOUNT OF TRAINING OR TECHNICAL ADVICE FROM THE UK, AND SIGNIFICANT QUANTITIES OF SMALL ARMS AND AMMUNITION FROM THE PRC. ALL OTHER PROCUREMENT HAS BEEN ON A COMMERCIAL BASIS, MOSTLY FROM THE UK (E.G., 5 DEFENDER AIRCRAFT,
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400 ARMALITE RIFLES, ETC.).

14. PROGRAM LEVELS.

A) MINIMUM LEVEL:

FMS US\$2 MILLION

IMET US\$100 THOUSAND

THIS WOULD BE DEVOTED TO CLEARLY NON-LETHAL EQUIPMENT, SUCH AS DRY RATIONS (ABOUT US\$1 MILLION FOR SIX MONTHS), RADIOS (US\$100 THOUSAND) AND LIGHT TRANSPORT (50 VEHICLES FOR \$900 THOUSAND). THE IMET PROGRAM WOULD PROVIDE US TRAINING FOR ABOUT A DOZEN TOP OFFICERS ONLY. WHILE THIS LEVEL WOULD PROVIDE TANGIBLE EVIDENCE OF US SUPPORT, IT WOULD FALL FAR SHORT OF MEETING BDF NEEDS, EVEN FOR NON-LETHAL EQUIPMENT, AND WOULD BE A MINIMUM CONTRIBUTION TO TRAINING REQUIREMENTS.

B) INTERMEDIATE LEVEL:

FMS US\$3 MILLION

IMET US\$200 THOUSAND

LIKE THE PREVIOUS LEVEL, THE FMS COULD BE DEVOTED TO DRY RATIONS (\$1 MILLION), RADIOS (\$100 THOUSAND) AND LIGHTS MILITARY TRANSPORT (100 VEHICLES FOR \$1,800,000); IN ADDITION, \$100 THOUSAND IN MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT SUCH AS BINOCULARS,

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ETC. THE INCREASED IMET COULD PROVIDE TRAINING FOR PERHAPS 25-50 OFFICERS, DEPENDING ON THE COURSE CHOSEN. THIS LEVEL CLEARLY MAKES A MORE IMPRESSIVE AND MEANINGFUL CONTRIBUTION TO BDF DEVELOPMENT; HOWEVER, IT STILL LEAVES UNFUNDED SIGNIFICANT GAPS IN THE NON-LETHAL EQUIPMENT INVENTORY, AND THE IMET TRAINING. IT WOULD GO BEYOND THE REPRESENTATIONAL LEVEL WHILE FALLING SHORT OF FULLY SATISFYING NEEDS.

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C) "CURRENT" LEVEL:

FMS US\$4.5 MILLION

IMET US\$300 THOUSAND

IN ADDITION TO CONTRIBUTIONS OF PREVIOUS LEVELS, THIS AMOUNT WOULD PROVIDE ONE YEAR'S DRY RATIONS PLUS A VARIETY OF TRAINING AIDS (THUNDER FLASHES, 105 MM BLANKS, SMOKE GRENADES, ETC.) AND RIOT-CONTROL DEVICES (TEAR GAS, FOR EXAMPLE). THE IMET WOULD PERHAPS BE AT THE OPTIMUM LEVEL, ALLOWING US TO TRAIN A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF COMPANY GRADE OFFICERS AND NONCOMS, WITHOUT CRITICALLY DEPLETING BDF CADRE AT ANY TIME. THIS PROGRAM LEVEL IS PROBABLY ABOUT AS FAR AS WE CAN GO IN MEETING REQUIREMENTS FOR STRICTLY NON-LETHAL EQUIPMENT.

D) INCREMENTAL LEVEL:

FMS US\$6 MILLION

IMET US\$300 THOUSAND

TO THE PREVIOUS LEVEL, WE WOULD BE ABLE TO ADD NIGHT VIEWING DEVICES (PERHAPS \$500 THOUSAND), PLUS US OBSERVATION AND LIGHT SUPPORT AIRCRAFT (\$1 MILLION). IF FUNDS PERMITTED WE COULD PROVIDE EQUIPMENT SUCH AS TENTS, SLEEPING BAGS, COTS, ETC. TO GO BEYOND THIS FMS LEVEL WOULD MEAN THE PROVISION OF WEAPONS, AMMUNITION, ARMORED CARS AND OTHER MATERIAL OF A CLEARLY LETHAL NATURE. WE
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MAY WISH TO DO THIS AT A LATER TIME; BUT IT WOULD REQUIRE A POLICY DECISION WHICH AT PRESENT WOULD APPEAR TO BE DIFFICULT IN LIGHT OF CURRENT POLICY ON ARMS TRANSFERS. IF THE BDF WISHES TO EQUIP ITSELF WITH US-MADE WEAPONS, WE WOULD AT THIS POINT SUGGEST IT GO THE COMMERCIAL ROUTE.

15. AS NOTED IN PARA 11, ABOVE, WE SEE ONLY POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR BOTSWANA'S HUMAN RIGHTS POSTURE ACCURING FROM ANY OF THE FOUR PROGRAM LEVELS HEREIN GIVEN.

16. I ENDORSE THE "CURRENT LEVEL" FOR FY 1980 AS BEING THE MINIMUM NECESSARY TO BE CONSIDERED HELPFUL TO SUPPORT US INTERESTS AND GOB SECURITY OBJECTIVES. FOR EACH OF FY 1981 AND FY 1982 OUR ASSISTANCE COULD BE SCALED DOWN TO PERHAPS US\$2.5 MILLION FMS, WHILE RETAINING THE \$300 THOUSAND IN IMET TRAINING EACH YEAR.

17. ADDEES WILL RECALL THAT BOTSWANA IS NOT NOW RECIPIENT OF EITHER FMS OR IMET. ALTHOUGH WE REQUESTED A MILITARY SALES PROGRAM OVER A YEAR AGO, WE HAVE SINCE THEN BEEN UNABLE TO REFINER OUR ESTIMATES EITHER OF BDF NEEDS OR OF EQUIPMENT COSTS. THEREFORE THE BREAKDOWN OF PROGRAM LEVELS GIVEN ABOVE SHOULD BE TAKEN AS INDICATIVE ONLY AND SUBJECT TO ADJUSTMENT BASED ON THE ADVICE OF PROFESSIONALS IN THIS FIELD.
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